423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
428
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
423
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be